THE Nation

May 28, 1955
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Adam Clayton Powell

MY MISSION TO BANDUNG

How Washington Blundered

Hazel Cooley

SCHOOLROOM ON THE AIR

Educational TV Progresses

Alexander Werth

SEVEN DAYS TO PEACE?

The Big Four's Tough Job

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Nehru and Chou En-lai

By Sam A. Jaffe

Bandung (delayed)

THIS is an attempt to collate what I might call residual impressions of the recent Bandung conference, which has been displaced in headlines but assuredly not in history by later events. I know that many issues taken up only superficially or evasively in the official communiques of the conference are today being diligently pursued by the participating states through diplomatic channels. In this sense the unprecedented meeting of Asia and Africa is by no means over and its ultimate effects cannot yet be measured. If India comes up with a workable basis for a Formosa solution, if Red China is admitted to the U. N., if Peking comes to some agreement with the Southeast Asian states on Chinese minorities it is possible that Bandung will be responsible, directly or indirectly. "Solutions of Asian problems are in the making," one delegate told me. "Thanks to this conference there is something for the world to look forward to."

* * *

Nehru emerged from the conference still Asia's No. 1 spokesman. Not a single top private meeting was held in which either he or his right-hand man, V. K. Krishna Menon, did not participate. India's Prime Minister lost ground, it is true, to the hard core of Arab nations which are desperately trying to preserve Moslem unity. They resented his talks with Colonel Nasser of Egypt. "Nehru is out to split us," one Arab representative told me. "He is already the 'Voice of Asia'; now he hopes to become the 'Voice of the Middle East.'" Nevertheless there was hardly a delegate at the conference who would not admit, even if reluctantly, that Nehru was destined to dominate the Asian scene for some time to come.

U Nu, Burma's Premier, took on considerable stature. Ideologically he is close to Nehru, but his personality is very different. Delegates found him more approachable, more relaxed, less emotional than his Indian confrere. There are many who expect this devout Buddhist, who is only forty-seven years old, to rise rapidly as a power in Asian politics.

* * *

The relationship between Chou En-lai and Nehru is delicate and complex. Both are conscious of the fact that they are rivals for the leadership of Asia. Yet they have many policies in common, and both know that an open feud would accomplish little for either of their countries.

A source close to Nehru told me that the Indian leader became greatly disillusioned with Red China during his recent trip there. Nehru is reported to have told Chou in Peking that China's development was not deserving of admiration because it was based on totalitarian methods. Chou in his turn, according to the report, pointed out that China had accomplished a great deal more through communism than India had managed to achieve through democracy. But Nehru, my source told me, was not convinced, and returned to India confirmed in his opposition to Communist methods. This does not mean, however, that Nehru's foreign policy has been altered in the least. He remains a neutralist, dedicated to peace.

* * *

Undoubtedly Chou left Bandung a happier man. Most delegates agreed that Red China's Premier had gone as far as anyone could reasonably expect in the direction of moderation and conciliation. When, as a Communist, he proclaimed his own atheism, he was quick to insist that China respects the religion of others. When he affirmed the Chinese people's "sovereign right" to Formosa, he also made clear that there was an area within the broad context of the Formosan problem in which he was prepared to negotiate with the United States. He invited the delegates to visit Peking, and sounded as if he meant it. On the personal plane he was equally affable; he even gave autographs.

But Chou's personality did not altogether carry the day for Communist China, as the conference's resolutions show. The truth is that Bandung proved itself to be neither anti- nor pro-West. It was anti-imperial, pro-peace, and pro-freedom, and seemed above all to be seeking some way to extricate the more than half the world's people it represented from the catastrophe of an East-West clash.

* * *

Within the broad concept of peace and freedom which animated the conference, there were of course special interests at work. The Arab nations spent practically all their time seeking a condemnation of Israel. Japan, on the other hand, turned its back on politics; its representatives busied themselves with developing trade relations with as many countries as possible. Each day stacks of beautifully bound trade pamphlets were distributed by the Japanese at the hotels housing the twenty-eight other delegations. I have no means of knowing the results of this campaign, but the Japanese left Bandung smiling.

Indeed, the most immediate concrete results of the conference were in the economic, social, and cultural fields. The participating nations agreed to share information in the development of all three; the results, though perhaps slow in coming, will be far-reaching.

SAM A. JAFFE is The Nation's *roving correspondent in the Far East.*

SPECIAL ISSUE

The issue of June 18, the week of *The Nation's* dinner forum on Atoms for Peace (see back cover), will be oversize, and devoted to the same subject. Contributors will include Bertrand Russell, J. Bronowski, Leland Olds, and other writers and scientists with specialized knowledge of the field.

If you are not a subscriber, watch for the June 18 issue of *The Nation* on your newstand.

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Atoms for Peace Forum

While the world continues to totter on the brink of the atomic-war abyss, an increasing number of dedicated people are seeking to snatch the atom from the bomb and to place it where it belongs—in the home to make light and heat, in the factory to increase the world's goods, in the medical laboratory to fight disease and extend human life, in the desert to transform waste into wheat. The breathtaking potentials of the peacetime use of atomic power have only begun to be explored. Yet the economic aspects, which promise a world of plenty hitherto undreamed of, are only part of the story; equally revolutionary are the political and social implications. If poverty breeds crime, and hunger and insecurity breed war, what happens when mankind at long last sets itself upon a path which promises ultimately to destroy poverty, hunger, and insecurity?

We stand, then, at a fateful crossroads; one way leads to war and annihilation, the other to peace, the spread of democracy, and an unprecedented era of social and economic progress. If the peoples of the world could express their free choice, the issue would not be in doubt. *The Nation*, ninety years old this summer, has decided that it could perform no greater public service to mark its anniversary than to help give expression to the widespread desire for peace, plenty, and freedom. This will be done through an Atoms for Peace dinner forum, open to the public, to be held Sunday, June 19, 6:30 p. m. at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York. Sponsored by a committee of distinguished civic leaders (see back cover), the forum will be addressed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Lord John Boyd-Orr, 1949 Nobel Peace Laureate; Dr. Harrison Scott Brown of the California Institute of Technology; Dr. Brock Chisholm, former director of the U. N. World Health Organization; Gordon E. Dean, former chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission; Freda Kirchwey, editor and publisher of *The Nation*, and Brigadier General Thomas R. Phillips (U. S. A., Retired), military analyst of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. The speakers' task will be to dramatize the choice that lies before us and to chart, in concrete terms, the revolutionary implications of the phrase Atoms for Peace.

The crucial nature of the choice that we must make is underscored by almost daily developments. As some scientists continue to warn of the as yet unfathomed dangers of atomic fall-out, others draw plans for the harnessing of atomic power for peaceful purposes. Pilot plans for the production of power from atomic piles are already under construction in several parts of the country. Medical sources report new uses for radioactive isotopes. And as this is written, a member of the United States Maritime Commission has announced that an atomic-powered passenger ship may shortly be constructed in an American shipyard.

The forum's significance is heightened by its timing—on the threshold of both the Big Four conference and of the international congress on the peacetime uses of atomic energy. *The Nation* urges its friends to be at the Waldorf on June 19 as an indication of their faith in the magazine and of their hope for a better world. For your convenience, a reservation coupon is printed on the back cover of this issue.

Little Red Schoolhouse

Emily Davie, author of "Profile of America," is indignant, and with good cause. The United States Information Agency, which had purchased and sent abroad 29,811 copies of her book, sought an appropriation of $25,000 to finance the purchase and distribution of an additional 204,542 copies, but funds were denied on the objection, so it is reported, of Representative Frank T. Bow (R., Ohio). "I was told," Miss Davie reports, "that a photograph entitled 'Little Red Schoolhouse, 1750,' should be eliminated because the Russians might think this represents our school system. . . . I was told that the photograph of a dust storm and arid land should be deleted. . . . On page 311 is a picture of a typical rural school teacher with two little boys. This was deleted because someone has seen a Russian propaganda book with a better-looking teacher. . . . Thoreau's 'Walden' was considered damaging and Eugene O'Neill's famous father-and-son scene from 'Ah! Wilderness' was said to be obscene." "If such treatment goes unchecked," Miss Davie told the Senate committee, "the U. S. I. A. book program will have been hopelessly crippled and no writer in America is safe." Nowadays most American authors seem reluctant to defend themselves or their books against self-constituted censors and book-burners, in or out of Congress. Perhaps Miss Davie's spirited defense of her book will prompt some of her colleagues to speak up for theirs.

Alleviators of Tensions

After numerous delays, much cautious conferring, a great deal of paper-work, and no end of high-level Washington double-talk, the way has finally been cleared for the visit to the United States this summer of

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ten Soviet farmers and eleven Soviet students. If twenty-one authentic men from Mars had requested permission to visit this country, Washington could hardly have been more perturbed. The Soviet farmers must confine their attention to corn-hog farms in one state, Iowa, and the Soviet students may only remain three weeks and visit six cities. If the proposed exchange visit of American farmers to Russia takes place, it will be interesting to see what restrictions the Russians will impose. Nevertheless, "the slit in the curtain" on which we commented some weeks back (March 26, p. 249) has remained open despite a strenuous last-minute effort to close it. As word was announced here that the two delegations would be admitted, two American professors visiting in Moscow—Dr. Richard R. B. Powell of the law school and Dr. J. Bartlet Brebner of the history department of Columbia University—in a broadcast beamed to North America voiced a sentiment that should be heeded in Moscow as well as in Washington: "Considerations of national policy . . . presently operative both in Russia and our own country . . . make it difficult for a person to visit freely the other country. This lessens the frequency of contacts between the peoples of these two great countries, and contacts are the most reliable alleviators of tensions and eliminators of suspicion."

The Bill of Rights Revisited

Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., assisted by Senators O'Mahoney and Langer—members of a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee—will shortly hold the first of a series of hearings on the effectiveness of the Bill of Rights under present-day social and economic conditions. The investigation could not be more timely. Only last February, Chief Justice Warren reminded a St. Louis audience that the Bill of Rights has become "controversial." Not since the La Follette investigation of 1939-40 has a committee of the Senate undertaken to check up on the continuing validity of the guaranties embodied in the first ten amendments. Those historic hearings, however, considered only the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively; today the range of inquiry is necessarily as broad as the Bill of Rights. Indeed in some areas and in certain situations the Bill of Rights would seem to be not so much controversial as moribund. Last week, for example, the Reverend Willie G. Lee, a Negro minister who had been active in the drive to register Negro voters in Belzoni, Mississippi, was murdered. Belzoni is in the Mississippi Delta country, where the White Citizens' Councils are more active than elsewhere in the South. The odds would seem to be about ten to one against the likelihood of local law-enforcement officials making a thorough investigation of this or a dozen similar recent incidents in the South. But in the North, East, and West, too, the subcommittee will find many violations of civil rights. If only the most flagrant are looked into, the committee and its staff are in for a busy time.

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MY MISSION TO BANDUNG

How Washington Blundered . . *by A. C. Powell*

[*ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, a Democratic Congressman from New York, paid his own way to the Bandung conference as an unofficial observer.*]

I TOOK off for Bandung on April 8, 1955, with the promise that the Department of State of my government was behind me. In fact, in the New York *Times* of that morning Dana Adams Schmidt wrote: "Congressman Powell is to receive 'complete cooperation' from all the embassies of our government." This was completely untrue, as I learned to my great shock. The only person who treated me decently was my former colleague Senator Homer Ferguson who had just arrived in Manila as the new American ambassador to the Philippines. Senator Ferguson, who had just arrived in me to his home, where Mrs. Ferguson had prepared the best room in their house for me. He gave me all possible cooperation and every courtesy—placed his car and chauffeur at my disposal and sent me on to Bandung with his blessing. More than that, he cabled Ambassador Cummings in Indonesia about my plans—cabled him twice the exact time of my arrival, the name of the flight, and other pertinent details.

I traveled by the Indonesian air line to Jakarta with my good friend General Carlos Romulo, the head of the Philippine delegation. When we arrived, the airport was jammed with thousands of people, and the flags of the twenty-nine nations were unfurled to the wind. The Foreign Minister of Indonesia was there with an official committee, the band was playing, the Guard of Honor was drawn up—all the customary pomp and ceremony for distinguished visitors. Boy scouts scurried to and fro with autograph books. The ambassador from the Philippines to Indonesia was there to greet his countryman, but not a single person from the United States embassy was there to meet me.

I stood on the airstrip completely alone. I had come twelve thousand miles to see history made, and to show the Asian and African peoples that the people of the United States were concerned with their progress. I was prepared to fight if necessary so that the truth about the colored people in the United States would be told and so that Communists could not distort the facts for their propaganda. And, mark you, I was not just a citizen; I was a Congressman, a senior Congressman who for twelve years had been ranking member of the Committee on Labor and Education, a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. I do not think the United States government ever let down a member of the Congress more completely than it let me down on that afternoon in the capital of Indonesia.

Finally, some American newspapermen spotted me and came over. The seventy-odd American journalists who were there were a dedicated group of hard-working men and women. While talking to them and while the NBC television camera man was interviewing me, I was approached by Jerry Donahue of the United States Information Agency. I said, "Where is the United States ambassador?" I was told he was sorry he could not come; he was prevented by the many other appointments he had to meet delegates. This did not quite ring true. Finally Mr. Donahue, who was trying to be cooperative, admitted that United States officials had been instructed to stay away from me.

The Indonesian government took excellent care of me. I was flown immediately to Bandung, where a lovely apartment in a fine hotel had been provided for me. But there was still no word from our government. I could not understand. When I left Washington, the Assistant Secretary of State had told me that the government would extend me every courtesy. I knew that Ambassador Ferguson in Manila had notified Ambassador Cummings. Even after my press conference, in which I defended the United States and silenced the Communist reporters for *Pravda*, the Tass News Agency, and the Peking press, no word came from the embassy. Raymond Swing spoke to me that night and said he had just told the American ambassador that my talk was "worth more than five million dollars to the United States." But in the eyes of the Department of State I wasn't worth a nickel, and to this date I have not been thanked, although my colleagues in the House of Representatives introduced a resolution praising me for the stand I took at Bandung against both colonialism and communism.

The next day at the conference I was deliberately cold-shouldered by Ambassador Cummings. When I sought him out and told him that I had expected minimum courtesy from him, he replied that he had been instructed by the Department of State to be "discreet." Later, after reports of my press conference had hit the front pages of papers in the United States and editorials in the Hearst papers, the Atlanta *Constitution*, and other journals had praised me and criticized the Department of State, then and only then Ambassador Cummings came to me and asked me to be his house guest while I was in Indonesia. I did not accept his invitation.

BEFORE leaving the United States I had wired President Eisenhower urging him to send greetings to the conference—not an indorsement, just a plain message of good-will. On Monday, April 18, I received this telegram from the Assistant Secretary of State, "We do not believe relationship of this government to Bandung conference would warrant such message from the President." This was a colossal error

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which showed that the Department of State did not properly evaluate the Far East. Every delegate that I met sharply criticized the attitude of the United States government. In its telegram to me the State Department said also: "We have already asked the Philippines, Pakistan, and Thailand to express our greetings." A member of the Egyptian delegation told me that this would be the equivalent of sending greetings to Egypt by way of the Belgian Congo.

Official messages of good-will poured in immediately from Soviet Russia. The Indonesian *Observer* of April 19 ran on its front page the headline, "United States Refuses to Send Message to Asian-African Conference," and on the following page "Best Wishes for Asian-African Conference from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." The Premier of Canada, the Honorable Louis St. Laurent, also sent official greetings to the conference. "I would like to convey to you," he said, "the good wishes of the people and government of Canada for the success of the conference. I hope it will contribute to the welfare of the people of Asia and Africa and promote the settlement by peaceful means of all disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." One of the highest officials of Indonesia said to me, "How different the Canadians are from other Western countries which have adopted such an anti-Asian-African attitude toward our deliberations. We cannot help being struck by the contrast."

Despite all this, the United States won a victory at Bandung that it did not deserve to win, that it did nothing toward winning. We came out on top at Bandung, if only temporarily, since the idea of democracy triumphed over the idea of communism.

PEKING'S BRAIN LAUNDRY

Orthodoxy in Red China . . . *by Kingsley Martin*

London

BRAIN-WASHING, which is the Western translation for the Chinese "mind-cleansing," is also called "re-education"; it may be a process as genuine as voluntary conversion or as cruel and hypocritical as causing a moral breakdown by mental and occasionally physical torture. Its object, I was told in Peking, is to win the acceptance and, if possible, the enthusiasm of the individual for the Communist philosophy.

Its methods vary widely in detail, but the stages seem to be much the same at different times and places. First, the non-believer or imperfect cooperator is subject to a strenuous but friendly effort of persuasion; if he does not quickly appreciate the sin of self-seeking and fully accept the duty of cooperation without social or economic preference over his fellows, he will be subjected to prolonged pressure from the group in which he lives and, if necessary, kept incomunicado while he studies the works of Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, and other Communist scriptures. If he remains recalcitrant, in spite of the glaringly obvious truth thus laid before him, his inquisitors may decide that various forms of physical discomfort may help him to see the light.

There are a number of reliable accounts of this process in action. Some who have been subjected to brain-washing describe their experience in terms of horror; others speak of their reeducation with all the gratitude and enthusiasm of Billy Graham's converts. There seem to have been a few British prisoners of war in Korea who were permanently converted to Marx-Leninism. Many signed the Communist peace manifesto, partly, no doubt, from conviction and partly because they thereby earned better prison treatment. Certainly the Chinese were utterly convinced that the Korean war was an act of American aggression and that honest members of the Western working classes would quickly respond to the policy of "leniency," and see that they were dupes of capitalism, if they heard the truth clearly expounded in lecture and argument. Until late in 1951 every prisoner was compelled to attend doctrinal classes. The time came when a division was made between the "progressives" and the "reactionaries."

The progressives were thereupon called to the aid of Communist teachers to bring pressure by long hours of indoctrination on those who were not willing to accept forcible conversion. Really stubborn characters were subjected to solitary confinement, deprivation of food, and lack of such minor comforts as the camp afforded. The more gross forms of physical brutality, such as were given headlines in the Western press, only occupy two of the forty pages of the White Paper issued by the British in March and seem, in so far as they were factually convincing, to have been individual cases of cruelty rather than part of the system. The surprising part of the story is that the jailers should have gone to such trouble to try to convert foreign soldiers of the merits of Chinese communism. The Chinese, clearly, went far beyond the point necessary if they had merely sought signatories for the peace manifesto. Indeed, the document seems to mark a new stage in the history of war. Between 1940 and 1945 all the belligerents broke the Geneva Convention, which forbids doctrinal pressure on prisoners, but while the British, Americans and Germans

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KINGSLEY MARTIN, editor of the London New Statesman and Nation, *has just completed a tour of the Orient, including a visit to Communist China. This is the second article of a series based on his experiences.*

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merely sought for prisoners prepared to do propaganda against their own governments, the Chinese in the Korean war seemed anxious to convert their prisoners in order, perhaps, to prove the theory of working-class unity.

WESTERN observers are likely to assume that all but professing Communists now live in terror in China, Peking does not give that impression; liberal intellectuals whom I had known before the revolution were not so afraid to talk as, for instance, their counterparts in the Soviet Union were during any of the periodical purges. There was, indeed, a period when educated Chinese only avoided a severe dose of "reeducation" by somewhat hasty repudiations of the West and probably only partly sincere protestations of loyalty to the new regime.

I doubt if the authorities now find it necessary to resort to such methods on a large scale. They involved agonies of mind rather than of body; they resulted in a large number of genuine conversions, because in many cases a professor or writer was already two-thirds converted before he was subjected to his examination. He would be angry at first at being cross-questioned about his record and his motives by his own subordinates or intellectual inferiors. He might have serious philosophic doubts about Marx-Leninism, but he was already more than halfway to conversion because he already had good reason to hate the Kuomintang government and was in complete agreement with the thesis that the Americans were aggressors and that a rejuvenated, happier, and less hungry China could be produced by the reforms which the Communist government was carrying out. Add to this that he would almost certainly be in a state of mental conflict, be troubled on some points by a bad conscience, and that he would be aware that a complete repentance meant an honorable job, while continued obstinacy might mean imprisonment or, at best, social ostracism.

I have been told—I do not know on what evidence—that there are rare Chinese Christians who have spent years in detention camps rather than change their faith. If so, according to the authorities, it is because they have been guilty of counter-revolutionary activity, and not merely given way to dangerous thoughts. This plea is hoary and rightly suspect. It is, however, certain that there are in China many heretics who escape molestation. The Chinese authorities themselves do not claim that Communist doctrine is as yet by any means universally accepted. On the contrary, they declare that old-fashioned religions are respected. In the Institute of Minorities—there are said to be sixty minorities in China—I saw rooms set aside in which scholarship students from Islamic and Buddhist regions were permitted to worship after their own fashion. They were meanwhile taught the true religion of Marx-Leninism. It is said that they are not coerced, but since, as far as I can make out, they remain students until they are converted, there is obviously a strong incentive, if they want a job, to discard their old beliefs.

I met one survivor from the old regime who after he had made wisecracks at the expense of the government reminded me not to repeat what he had said. "Of course not," I said, "but would you get into trouble if I did?" He considered for a moment, and then said "Yes, if I were thought to have denigrated the regime to a foreigner, I should get a period of reeducation." "Would you be badly treated?" I asked. "No," he replied, "I have known several people who have gone through the process; I should be quite kindly treated —I should just be reeducated." He did not say for how long, but I suppose until he understood his error.

He was one of the silent, unimportant, unconverted who no doubt abound in China. For most intellectuals no such fear now exists. Any liberal views and disloyal thoughts which may have been in their minds have practically passed away in the excitement of a revolution which generally earns their esteem and is supported by the colossal weight of a public opinion which automatically accepts the new basis of society as explained in detail by the classes in Marx-Leninism and by the constant stream of newspaper and wireless propaganda.

I recall a number of conversations in Peking with Chinese intellectuals and men of letters whom I had

"Shall We All Recognize the Situation?"

known in London or whose pre-revolutionary record was well known to me. They had not formerly been members of the Communist Party. They appeared to be happily absorbed. One of them, a scholar of high repute, told me that he had been brought up in the tradition of Adam Smith and utilitarian individualism. He found it hard to discard this individualism. "The old Adam keeps creeping back?" I asked. "I try to overcome it," he said. "I am now convinced that it was wrong." The entire motivation in the New China, he said, had changed from that of self-seeking to that of unselfish cooperation. Self-criticism was encouraged; no one was allowed to bully or be overbearing to a critical junior; it was the superior who got into trouble if he didn't take notice of the criticism. In so far as he had doubts—and I pressed him on many points—he was prepared to go on inquiring and seeking the correct answer from his moral superiors. His state of mind, I realized, was precisely that of an English Protestant who has decided, on what he feels to be good grounds, to be received into the Catholic church. When he is not sure, he believes that he is himself at fault and in need of further instruction from a priest.

I HOPE I have made it clear that in the new China there is idealism as well as uniformity. Idealism has its dangerous as well as its attractive aspects. A new society is being built

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from which, as far as possible, liberalism and individualism are being purged. To build such a society means to establish, universally, assumptions that are the very opposite of those on which Western society had rested since the Renaissance. When we consider this partly forcible uniformity of opinion, we at once look for historical parallels among the intolerant Protestant communities built by the early settlers in North America. But a truer comparison is with that of medieval Christendom. In the Middle Ages there was no alternative to a belief in the Catholic God and to an acceptance of the absolute authority of the church and the priesthood. Until the new knowledge began to seep in, it was rare indeed for anyone to hold heretical doctrines. When scientific and Protestant heresies began to appear, the Inquisition was established to deal with them. Within these limits men were free to dispute on detailed matters of doctrine and politics; they produced great art and a wealth of literature. Today the Communist world is seeking to establish, for materialism, an equally unchallengeable authority.

The first job is to establish the new faith, and for that purpose heresy has to be rooted out by propaganda and, if necessary, by inquisitorial methods. At the present stage the intellectual who accepts the basic truth on which society is to be built has at least as much freedom as intellectuals in most countries in the world, and not many of them have any more desire to assert the existence of God, or deny the authority of the Communist Party, than medieval scholars had to become heretics. They paint, with the examples of the old Chinese masters before them, and they write with a new enthusiasm to further the ends of the revolution. They are uniform in politics and philosophy because on basic matters their interests and their opinions are orthodox. A Westerner brought up in the liberal tradition but with every sympathy for the achievements of the Revolution must be conscious of a grim reservation. Will the next generation even know that there are other intellectual worlds to conquer? Will they become tolerant as they become safe from external and internal attack? Or will uniformity grow until Big Brother's lightest word is law? I do not know, but the danger is there because the rulers of China, like the Catholic church, believe they have discovered final truth. And to me this is the final error.

COLD WAR PERSPECTIVES

A Historical Fable . . . *by William A. Williams*

PERHAPS the major American casualty of the cold war has been the idea of history. This wound in the American intellect has, for the most part, gone unnoticed; yet to neglect it is to chance the cancer of cynicism. For the idea of history is the secular conscience of the West, the moral and intellectual impulse which enables us to face up to the implications of W. H. Auden's classic lines about the decay of Hongkong in the late thirties.

> We cannot postulate a General Will;
> For what we are, we have ourselves to blame.

History is the record of man's efforts to transform the real into the ideal. It is therefore a mirror in which man can look himself in the eye. Thus the idea of history is nothing less than the notion of honesty which provokes us to measure our performance. Only by acting upon this idea can we comprehend why those who share our ideals grow less confident of our leadership.

We need first to identify and characterize this American and this Soviet man who stand astride the world in verification of De Tocqueville's famous prophecy. Let us think of them in terms of convergence and clash of their respective pasts during the years of the cold war. This may help us gain some insight into the conduct of the actors, and also observe the images they saw in the mirror of history when they examined their own performances.

THE American as Cold Warrior has four ancestors: the Puritan and the Planter, the Hamiltonian and the Homesteader. The Puritan elected himself America's first elite. He originally intended to establish a righteous Eden. His handmaiden was to have been Calvin's Virgin of unexploited wealth. But the Devil, cleverly camouflaged as the noble savage, already claimed the Virgin. Thus the Puritan had first to contain and defeat the red man. He must next convert the heathen and regenerate the tempted in his own army. Only then could he proceed to promote the general welfare. Thus he saw himself as God's chosen agent abroad in the fallen world. He alone knew the disguises of danger and the trail to salvation. Hence he alone must lead.

But the pietistic intensity of his awareness of the Devil withered the Puritan's sense of purpose. Morality ceased to be the means of communicating with God and the guide to the good life. It became instead the black badge of the homeopathic treatment; the wearer was feeling worse so he could feel better. Conformity became salvation. The Virgin was first neglected, then forgotten. Only the Devil, warned the Puritan, spoke of the general welfare.

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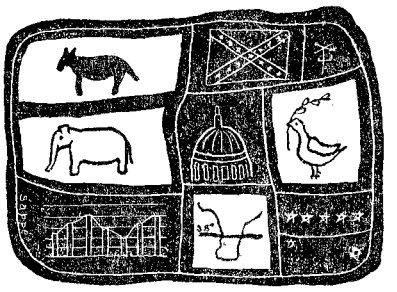
Thus the Puritan gave way to the Planter, who comforted and wooed the Virgin. She rewarded him handsomely. She also dulled his consciousness of the Devil. Together they enlarged their first log cabin into the manor. But the foundation remained the quicksand of romanticized and self-destroying individualism. For character they substituted the temperament of hedonistic pragmatism. And so they ruled their corporate plantation with the uneasiness of all whose property, power, and prestige are based on the bull whip and the barbecue.

Not until the Puritan pointed to the evil of the slave did the Planter and the Virgin take up the language of noblesse oblige. It was then too late. The hell of a fellow who occasionally feeds the neighborhood does not become m'Lord through rhetoric. Personalized honor is no substitute for communal responsibility. Thus the Planter was forced to tribalize the Puritan's God in an effort to Christianize the plantation family. But the fact subverted the legend. The Virgin had been corrupted by opulence. She lay dying of physical exhaustion and a malignancy in her soul.

The Puritan did not return to power. It was the Hamiltonian who defeated the Planter. And the Hamiltonian had little use for advice from the Puritan. He had his own Virgin. The machine would bless the pious. His God was Jesus the carpenter become entrepreneur. His State was neither a theocracy nor a veranda full of Planters. It was a committee of friendly neo-mercantilists who stimulated economic prosperity by protecting his property at home and helping him acquire more abroad.

As for the Devil, the Hamiltonian assumed he was in every man. But the vices of the successful were less dangerous than those of the failure. Thus ruling became the business of making it possible for more to become successful. The Hamiltonian substituted the credo of the harmony of interests for the tradition of noblesse oblige. This at once employed the Devil and strengthened the rulers. Small wonder that the Planter joined his conqueror in worship before the machine.

So, too, the Homesteader. He had first followed the Planter. But neither the Planter nor the virgin land had rewarded him as they promised. The Hamiltonian offered a renewal of faith and a ladder to success. And the Homesteader could



not abandon his belief that any man could become President. That was the only religion he possessed. So instead he substituted the Hamiltonian creed of success and aimed to reach the circle of mercantile monopolists. The Homesteader fought the Hamiltonian only on the issue of which of them, at a given time, the State was to help. He contributed neither a new ideal nor a rational program by which to realize the Hamiltonian Eden of a world-wide mercantile empire. He merely secularized his old revivalism into the gospel of spreading democratic opportunity. The world became his oyster, too.

But the failure of the machine in 1929 threw Planter, Hamiltonian, and Homesteader on the defensive. Had he been ready, with an idea and a will, the Homesteader might have become his own ruler. He was in fact as frightened as the rest. The Puritan claimed vindication, but he was without vitality. It was the Planter who rallied to the crisis. His hedonistic and pragmatic paternalism became, in the person of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the guide for the New Deal. But pragmatic paternalism was no match for the machine run wild.

THUS the Planter-led concert of Hamiltonian and Homesteader found itself on the defensive both at home and abroad. The Hamiltonian's halting effort to work out a new noblesse oblige for an industrial society was cut short by the rise of Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo. Yet it was hard to accept the idea, let alone the necessity, of cooperating with the new Soviet Revolutionary against this terrible trinity. The Hamiltonian feared for his mercantile empire. The Homesteader was frightened by the doctrinaire who had taken over his own cry against wage-slavery. And the Puritan was now certain that Stalin was the Devil.

Actually, of course, the Soviet Revolutionary was less monolithic than the Americans feared. He had descended from two predecessors: the Great Russian and the Marxian. The Great Russian had declaimed on his title to the robes of Rome, but it had been a preachment to the wind. His tradition of ruthless reform from above was not according to the gospel. And he needed most of his energy to achieve and maintain his own security. He had little strength left for playing pontiff to the world.

The Marxian who replaced the Great Russian was unable to break completely free of these legacies. Revolution did not dispel the problems of geographic and military security. Nor did his doctrine of achieving plenty through the dictatorship of the proletariat evoke much response beyond the perimeter of the Red Army. The scripture of international revolution from below was revised to read socialism in one country through revolution from above. The idea of survival proved non-ideological.

Thus their respective traditions made it possible for the Soviet and the American to collaborate against common danger. The Marxian freedom of necessity was never more effectively dramatized. And even the Puritan had to admit, after 1941, that Hitler and Tojo were more active agents of the Devil. Thus the Puritan reluctantly joined the Hamiltonian and the Homesteader in accepting the Planter's policy of pragmatic survival.

But the defeat of the common enemy raised problems and created temptations for both the Soviet as revolutionary and the American as mercantilist. Stalin's difficulty, while more intense, was not unlike the dilemma that Alexander I faced after the defeat of Napoleon. Alexander could not reform at home unless his borders were secure. But his allies saw him as a threat because he had done so much to defeat Napoleon. They wanted to push him back, contain him, and exploit the victory for themselves. Alexander dismissed his thoughts of reform to

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concentrate on defending the Russia he had saved.

Stalin likewise needed security and help if he was to complete and then reform the work of socialism in one country. Yet he, rather than Alexander, was the symbol of revolutionary change to much of the world. Thus it was imperative for him to have assistance from the American if he was to abandon the role of revolutionary to become the reformer. Past experience did not offer either Stalin or his doctrinaire critics much assurance that Russia's allies against Hitler had accepted socialism—even in one other country. Nor did America's use of the atomic bomb to knock out Japan two days before Russia entered the war in the Pacific do much to strengthen Stalin's hand against these critics. Lacking concrete guaranties of security from the American, Stalin had but two weapons in reserve—the Red Army in Europe and revolutionary Marxism in Asia.

And Roosevelt as the imperial Planter was more than just pragmatic; he was a dreamer of paternalistic visions for the world. He declined to bind himself with a guaranty for either Russia's European frontiers or a promise of economic aid. Roosevelt may have considered such arrangements but he never committed himself. Even had he wished to do so, he was no longer the unquestioned master of his own manor. For just as Stalin was badgered by the unregenerate Marxist revolutionary, so Roosevelt was challenged by the mercantilist Hamiltonian and the crusading Puritan.

FOR these reasons the Hamiltonian and the Puritan struck a bipartisan bargain to replace the Planter. Both had learned from him the rhetoric of noblesse oblige. And perhaps the Hamiltonian would, at some future time, pour content into the concept. But at the moment it was the mercantile imperialism of the Open Door and the crusading fervor of the Puritan that triumphed. The Soviet Union became at once the Devil to be contained and the competitor to be crushed. Despite their differences over tactics, they worked well together, these Puritans and Hamiltonians—Dulles and Acheson, MacArthur and Forrestal, and Kennan and Harriman.

The Planter was overwhelmed. The Hamiltonian and Puritan soon forgot the origins in noblesse oblige of the Marshall Plan. Point Four went the way of the old Homestead Act, becoming a means to establish and maintain a system of absentee mercantile control over underdeveloped areas. Henry Wallace, a recalcitrant Homesteader, was easily checked. His cry for coexistence and "progressive capitalism" was squelched with the reply that one could not live with the Devil, and that the corporation was functionalized feudalism. President Truman behaved as properly became the Homesteader. He looked up to the Hamiltonian and, as revivalist, accepted the Puritan's definition of the Devil.

Kennan prescribed the new homeopathic remedy. The Soviet Revolutionary would be purged of his sin by forcing new hardships upon him via containment. Harriman stressed the Hamiltonian economics of the cure. Forrestal readied the air force, the new military arm of the mercantilist, to enforce the treatment if necessary. Truman sermonized the remedy as Doctrine. Acheson provided a new Westminster Confession in his famous speech at Berkeley. The Devil could not even discuss salvation unless and until he recanted. And Dulles labored mightily to purify the creed and infuse its faithful followers with ever greater zeal.

Stalin countered by becoming the Great Russian Marxian. Not even his withdrawal from Iran influenced the Puritan and the Hamiltonian. So he increased his demands, tightened up his controls, and forced the pace at home. Peter the Great became Lenin's inspirational comrade in the ruthless drive for reconstruction and further industrialization. Stalin simultaneously consolidated his authority along the Russian border in Europe. He risked much to incorporate Czechoslovakia—but it was at once the bridgehead to the Ukraine and Russia's primary source of uranium. Secure there, he could and did accept the loss of Tito. Then, after blockading Berlin to hold the initiative, he turned to the Marxian offensive in Asia.

Stalin had always kept his eye on the East when other Bolsheviks had claimed that the revolution would dawn in the West. Yet at the end of the war, when he had hoped to strike some bargain with America, Stalin held his hand in China. But once the Great Russian was secure in Europe, he became the revolutionary in Asia. He parlayed the legacy of the Puritan missionary and the Hamiltonian trader into a Marxian triumph in Peking and Shanghai. And his new ally quickly proved its value by holding the Cold Warrior to a draw in Korea.

Thus strengthened on his Marxian and Great Russian frontiers, the Soviet Revolutionary sought to freeze the stalemate and try again to become the reformer. Perhaps this time he would succeed. For his nuclear power had opened fissures between the Puritan and the Hamiltonian. The Hamiltonian wondered if the Puritan's homeopathic treatment had not confirmed instead of converted the Devil. Not even a mercantile empire was safe anymore. Thus President Eisenhower and Defense Secretary Wilson seemed less anxious to follow the exhortations of Dulles the Puritan than did Homesteading revivalists like Senators Douglas and Humphrey, or militant mercantilists like Senators Knowland and Symington.

THE hard-headed, hard-moneyed Hamiltonians found themselves in a situation much like the one which had earlier confronted President John Adams. Then the Puritan had led the Hamiltonians to an encampment for a crusade against the French Revolutionary, the eighteenth century Devil. Adams enraged many of his fellow Hamiltonians when in 1799 he struck tents, not to attack, but to coexist. But Adams had help from the Planter. Similar support was not so ready at hand in

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1955 to help Eisenhower, should he secretly desire, break free of the Puritan. The Planter was but a memory, and the Homesteader lacked the leadership and the will to snap the spell of the evangelical mercantilists. It was foreigners like Laborite Aneurin Bevan, Aristocrat Winston Spencer Churchill, and Idealist Pandit Nehru who took the initiative and applied the pressure on the Puritan to end the cold war.

Those who did come to the aid of Eisenhower were men who had refused to toss the idea of history down the Puritan memory hole. Planters like Sumner Welles and James F. Byrnes had not, of course, gone soft on the Devil. But they did remind us that the Soviet Revolutionary had been willing, between 1941 and 1948, to negotiate an overall settlement. And it was Senator Walter F. George, another personification of the old Planter-Hamiltonian alliance, who took the lead in proposing talks at the summit with the Russians.

More numerous were the Hamiltonians who had never been too keen on the Puritan's crusade. James Reston noted that all policy-makers knew the Soviets still sought negotiations in 1955. Henry L. Stimson revealed that his earlier proposal to try that approach had been vetoed by the Cold Warriors. Edward R. Stettinius and James P. Warburg suggested that it might have been more fruitful to have used America's economic power as a tool of negotiation instead of appearing, by abruptly terminating Lend-Lease, to wield it as a bludgeon.

Steelmaster Ernest T. Weir had a pointed warning: the world was growing skeptical of Puritans who seemed afraid of peace. Walter Lippmann, perhaps the classic example of the Hamiltonian as intellectual, had been tugging at the Puritan's frock coat since 1947. First he demurred from Kennan's homeopathic prescription, then he criticized crusaders, and finally he spoke openly for coexistence. Hans Morgenthau and Charles Burton Marshall, two hard-bitten Hamiltonians, concluded that even the best foreign policy could not convert all heathens.

Some of Clio's own courtiers also took a searching look in the mirror of history. Professors Lewis Mumford, Frederick L. Schuman, and Arnold J. Toynbee reported that the tunic of the Cold Warrior was not untarnished. Ralph Barton Perry, who some time before had warned of the Puritan's "moral athleticism," pointed out that it was necessary to survive if one was to build a Garden of Eden. And George A. Morgan, a Hamiltonian foreign-service officer, studied Stalin to the conclusion that the Devil was quite aware that revolutions were subject to the law of diminishing returns. Morgan's Puritan superiors seemed quite blind to such insights.

But perhaps it was Louis J. Halle, a State Department Hamiltonian become historian, who caught the most important image of the past. The time was 425 B. C., when a Lacedaemonian defeat had brought the struggle with Athens to a crisis. The Lacedaemonians, offering significant concessions, asked for peace. They appealed to Athens to "avoid the mistake of those who meet with an extraordinary piece of good fortune, and are led on by hope to grasp continually at something further." Peace, they said, would give Athens "a reputation for power and wisdom." But the Athenians, tempted by the mirage of glory, chose instead to go for broke—and were broken. It remained to be seen, in 1955, whether the Puritan crusader would similarly mistake his catechism for wisdom.

SCHOOLROOM ON THE AIR

Educational TV Progresses . . *by Hazel Cooley*

MISCONCEPTIONS abound about education in TV—about the need for it, about its possibilities, about who is going to support it. But one thing is certain: it is not a failure. It is not sliding backward into disintegration; it is going forward, even if slowly in comparison with other current developments.

This fact takes on significance in the light of the present teacher shortage. Dr. David O. Henry, Executive Vice-Chancellor of New York University, recently stated that education cannot hope to cope with the rising tide of students unless such aids as educational TV are moved into the center of current practice.

Barely three years ago the Federal Communications Commission reserved exclusively for non-commercial educational use 252 TV channels in as many separate communities. Ownership and operation of these channels was restricted to non-profit educational organizations, the only exception being a municipality whose school system was under the control not of an independent body but of the township itself. The F. C. C. distinctly specified that operation of these channels was to be in no respect commercial, since otherwise the objective of "a genuinely educational type of service" would not be attained. Educators recognized that this action of the F. C. C. was only the first step, that enormous difficulties lay ahead.

Since then, fifteen educational TV stations have been established, reaching some twenty-five million people. Eight others are under construction and will be operating soon. Seven additional communities are completing plans and collecting funds to start construction. Ralph W. Steele, executive director of the Joint Committee for Educational Television, a national clearing-house

HAZEL COOLEY, author of "Vision in Television," is engaged in community activities.

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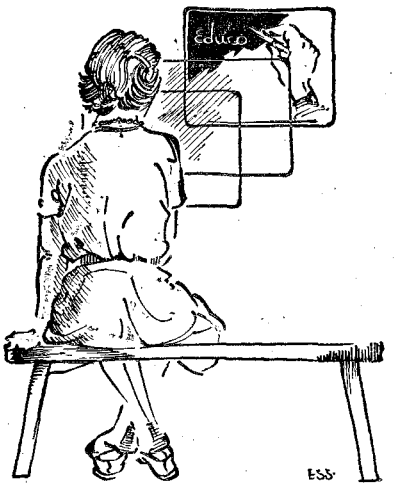


for aid to educational broadcasters, believes that by the end of 1955 there will be thirty such stations in eighteen states, reaching forty million people.

A single educational organization can seldom swing TV by itself; usually a number combine and share the cost. Before a station can get started, innumerable, almost endless, negotiations are necessary. The obstacles to be surmounted include the operational budget, building and expansion requirements, the hesitation of universities to commit university funds, and the fact that 186 of the 252 educational channels are in the ultra-high frequency. (See my article in *The Nation* for February 19, 1955.) That fifteen stations are already on the air, eight about to begin, and seven well on their way, in scarcely three years' time, conclusively proves that educators have what it takes—courage and persistence.

WHEN a commercial TV station is organized, it can obtain working capital by the various means available to business enterprises. It makes a profit or suffers a loss depending on the demand for what it offers. Like any entrepreneur, the commercial operator goes into TV because he thinks he can make it pay. For the non-commercial, educational station, however, there can be no dollars-and-cents profit. No matter how good a TV job educators may do, it does not add a penny to their personal income or their school budget. Their incentive is entirely different from that of the business man who goes into TV.

The educator has always been a servant of the people and is dedicated to the goal of furthering social progress. It is a never-ending assignment. He must be always helping the inquiring mind to seek and to learn. He cannot neglect, therefore, the new force—TV—which is at work on the thought, emotions, and actions of society. One of his responsibilities is to be alert to new ways of doing an old job. Attempts by educators to use the earlier medium of radio won a tremendous following. But they proved that to be successful educational programs must be given at specified hours of specified days and continue without interruption month after month and year after year. Since there were no non-commercial radio stations for education exclusively, such programs suffered from the growing demand for radio time. Then came the war, followed by television development and experimentation and a "freeze" on the granting of new TV licenses. At this point, warned by their experience with education by radio, educators organized to claim a share of the TV channels. The result is known—252 channels reserved for educational purposes.

While educators are grateful for the opportunities provided, they are aware of the problems they face. These can be lumped in three major categories: (1) making the public aware of the educational values involved; (2) getting money to build and operate educational TV stations; and (3) developing talent and programs.

Educators recognize the usefulness of TV to any institution of learning and to the community. The Dartmouth Television Committee, reporting to the president of the college in January, 1954, said:

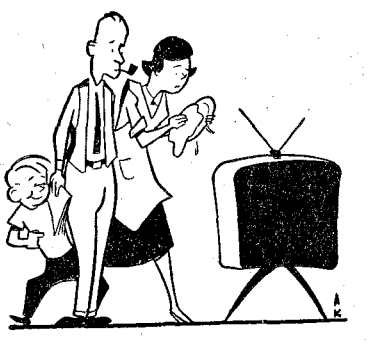
> Despite a fundamental reluctance to encourage an adventure by the college along a course . . . largely untried . . . in the entire sphere of American education, . . . despite knowledge of the very considerable outlay of funds and man-power inevitably involved, the committee has come gradually to the conclusion that the potentials of TV in education are so enormous that . . . the only real questions to be resolved . . . are how far and how fast Dartmouth should go in adapting TV to its ends. . . . We can fail to understand its meaning at our peril.

While educators are aware of the potential of TV in education, the general public is not. If there is a "peril" in failing to understand, why has the public not been enlightened? Why have not the educators tried more vigorously to obtain the cooperation and support of the public? Do they feel that once the public gives its support, it would want to share in or dictate policy? Activating these 252 channels is actually the responsibility of all the people in the country, not of the educators alone, though only the educators may file for license to operate. It is up to the educators to bring educational TV to the people, but they will find it tough going if the people don't back them.

THE lack of substantial financial support for educational TV shows that people generally are unaware of their responsibility. To bring this home to them should have been the first objective of the crusade for education in TV. Of course there are many enlightened citizens who are anxious to have educational channels in operation in their communities and are willing to work for it. A National Citizens' Committee for Educational Television was established in 1952 for the purpose of stimulating public support for educational TV. But where is it? It may be known in certain parts of the country, but in many others it is not at all known. Surely, after three years, one might expect to have heard of its accomplishments.

People don't seem to realize that educational programs over commercial networks often get greater response than commercial programs. When "Macbeth" was presented one Sunday afternoon in November, 1954, a Nielson rating indicated that 6,500,000 sets were tuned in, with an average of two people to a set, or 13,000,000 listeners.

The fifteen stations now in operation got their start with money



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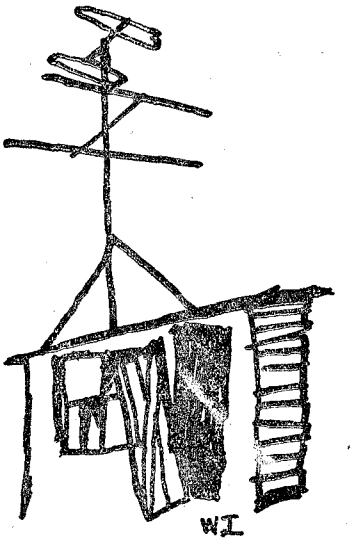
from a variety of sources—state legislatures, government agencies, school budgets, foundations large and small, commercial broadcasting stations, business firms, charitable, religious, and public-welfare organizations, and individual donors. Lack of money is still the chief difficulty. Most colleges would be able to go ahead with their own transmitters if they had the funds. It is interesting that eight of the fifteen stations that have been set up are supported largely by public funds. Their success proves that when the people of a community know what education over the air waves is like, they want it, they will back it with their money, and they will specify exactly what they want in programming.

There is no question that the colleges are hindered by the ultra-high-frequency (UHF) assignments. The lack of viewers who can pick up the UHF signal has forced Michigan State College to curtail operations. Its programming was good and its potential audience large, but they had no UHF sets. It is now reduced to the position of an auxiliary station feeding nine commercial stations in the state.

The colleges have an advantage in their command of talent. Naturally the talent has to be channeled into TV fare, but it is there, on the campus. Educational TV, moreover, is really an extension of the colleges' regular work. Teachers before the TV camera are not "performers" in the sense that commercial programs require performers; they are teachers, and they are on familiar ground. They must develop certain techniques, use more visual objects to point up the lesson, but they are still teaching. A good teacher is as good before the camera as in the classroom, and a poor teacher has a chance to improve by watching one who is superior.

COLLEGE programs have proved tremendously popular. An outstanding example is the work of Dr. Frank Baxter, a professor of English at the University of Southern California, quite unknown outside of California a year ago and today a national figure. He has presented Shakespeare as only a scholar could to an audience estimated at 400,000. But this was not over the college transmitter.



It came Saturday mornings over CBS station in Hollywood, which presented "Shakespeare on TV" as a public-service sustaining feature. Why didn't the program come over the college transmitter? Station KTHE, Los Angeles, licensed to the University of Southern California, is another UHF calamity: no sets, no funds, no audience. Late in 1954, the station was granted special temporary authority to remain silent pending further developments.

Group-instruction techniques are being used for the teaching of piano by television. Courses in elementary psychology are being given by many stations—the subject seems a "natural" for the medium. Farm women and town women are enrolling enthusiastically for courses in "Let's Make a Dress TV"; women are always interested in programs that point to better living for the family. Many studies indicate that programs based on community interests have the greatest appeal—interviews with local people, stories of local products, solutions for common problems.

Heart-warming stories about what TV instruction has accomplished are coming in. A farmer who for fifteen years had refused all advice to lime his land was convinced by a television demonstration. An insurance salesman who knew nothing of farming but had farmer customers watched a college TV program on insect control and with this to talk about was able to "get his foot in the door." A teacher reported that after one TV lesson in art she found her pupils much more receptive to her instruction.

At the annual convention of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, held in February of this year, the president of the Montclair State Teachers College, Dr. E. DeAlton Partridge, convinced more than eight hundred educators that television can be a most effective classroom device. Its use lightens some of the teacher's burdens, raises teaching standards, and enriches the lives of pupils. The dynamic Dr. Partridge proved his points with visual demonstrations.

ONE of his purposes was to show how valuable TV can be in the present teacher shortage. There are 7,307,000 more pupils in our elementary schools today than there were in 1947-48. There will be 2,140,000 more high-school students by 1960. Last year there were 1,032,000 elementary and high-school teachers in the United States. In 1959-60 more than 1,670,000 will be needed. And these figures leave entirely out of account the large annual replacement demand for teachers. Educators are justifiably concerned over this situation, and those who have experimented with TV in the area of teacher education believe that it offers some answers.

The lesson that comes over TV has been planned and prepared by a number of good teachers. It has been revised and improved. It is built of materials derived from the experience or gathered by the research of several persons. It has been enriched by discussion and rehearsal. Nothing like as much care can be given to the preparation of the ordinary run of daily lessons. No single classroom teacher could have access to the material from museums, libraries, historical collections, and the like that are drawn on for TV lessons. TV relieves the teacher of many hours of preparation and lets him conserve his energies for the important task of building his personal relations with his pupil. The teacher with genius can reach thousands of children over TV. Other teachers are quick to learn from the TV teacher who has a better way of presenting a lesson. The quick insight of a gifted teacher for the best way to make a point is never lost to the camera. Suppose it

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becomes possible to focus the TV camera on such a teacher and transmit his personality and technique from one classroom to a number of classrooms, from 100 children, to 10,000, to 1,000,000. The possibilities are enormous. With further research, demonstration, and practice it is inevitable that TV will be widely used to help education out of its present dilemma of increasing pupil demand and decreasing teacher supply.

The use of educational TV for the enrichment of the individual in every community in the United States is only beginning. With support by the public, this supplementary educational system may point the way to the rediscovery of basic values which have been lost or buried under a mass of shoddy substitutes. For example, young people who think of themselves as "glamour" girls or boys may be brought to the realization that there are more worth-while attitudes. In this respect educational TV has a unique opportunity, for it is able to reach the vital spot, the home, and to affect the thinking of practically everyone in every corner of the country.

SEVEN DAYS TO PEACE?

Big Four's Tough Job . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

"NATO at Grips with the *Detente*" was the title of a recent article by Andre Fontaine in the *Monde*. That sums up the situation very nicely, though not quite fully. Even the optimists—and in the officially inspired press in France as in England optimism is *de rigueur* these days—have an uncomfortable feeling that two roads stretch out before humanity—one leading to the end of the cold war and the other into the "hideous epoch," to use Churchill's phrase. The big question is whether the second can be barred off and traffic diverted to the other.

The NATO experts, preparing for the worst, have drawn up a timetable that runs as follows: twenty-three months after the ratification of the Paris agreements the twelve German divisions must be ready for use; in the first four months the central general staff will be set up and a first group of 18,000 men will be recruited; by November, 1955, the first conscripts will be called up; in September, 1956, six German divisions will have been fully formed; twelve months after the ratification the total German air force will be ready. And so on. What a world we are living in! M. Pinay, the small-town politician and hides-and-leather business man who was one of Petain's National Councilors—in short, a Vichyite—and is now the head of the Quai d'Orsay welcomed the German Chancellor into the NATO fold last week. "Within the community of free nations," said Adenauer, "Germany will be an able and reliable partner; and it is here that we wish to employ our efforts for the safeguarding of freedom and human dignity." M. Pinay congratulated Adenauer on Germany's magnificent accomplishment, which was due to the Chancellor's grim resolve to "restore democratic civilization in Germany."

M. Pinay fancies himself as the great architect of Franco-German friendship. He went of his own accord to Bonn, was very charming to the Germans, and in two days of talks managed to agree to so many German demands that he virtually lost the Saar to Germany and opened the way for the gradual application of the secret Hallstein memorandum. This document, published by *France-Observateur* on April 28, contained a cunning program for the political and economic "liberation" of the Saar. Its authenticity has not been denied.

Frenchmen are bitter about the West's welcome to Germany. "What a way," wrote the *Monde* of May 8, "to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Germany's defeat!" A fortnight ago Claude Bourdet returned to the President of the Republic all the decorations he had received as a soldier and Resistance leader in protest against the rearmament of Germany, which nullified all that the Resistance had fought for.

Just before the Foreign Ministers of Britain, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union left for Vienna, there was a suspicion that Mr. Dulles did not expect things to go off so smoothly as they did. That was thought to be possibly one reason why Mr. Dulles sounded so unenthusiastic about "talks at the summit" and recommended them to President Eisenhower only on condition that the Foreign Ministers be present, too, that there be no fixed or detailed agenda, and that the talks should last "less than a week." His lack of eagerness rather pained the British Conservatives, who have made these "talks at the summit" the most important plank in their election platform. Whether they will want them as badly after the election remains to be seen. Eden, who is much more under the thumb of the Foreign Office than Churchill was, is perhaps in reality less enthusiastic than his Leeds election address would suggest.

If by some miracle the "summit" talks take place, what are they to be about? It is felt here that since there cannot be a serious talk "in less than a week" about anything, either nothing will be accomplished or the talks will last far more than a week. The range of subjects to be discussed is immense. The decision on the rearmament of West Germany seems final; or will the Russians still try to extend to the whole of Germany the Austrian principle of armed neutrality and unification? Will they accept, in that case, some

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variant of Eden's free-election proposal of February, 1954? Much depends, of course, on Germany's own reactions, and on Adenauer's willingness to take account of the influence of the "neutralization-for-unification" idea on German opinion. Can there conceivably be Bonn-Moscow talks between now and the summit meeting? A curious fact, to which considerable attention has been paid here, is the prominence given in the Russian press to an American news agency's report that the Russians might invite Adenauer to visit Moscow. As the *Monde* said:

> It would take great strength of character for Adenauer to prefer the Western alliance to these Russian promises of liberation; and it is doubtful whether such strength of character would make him popular in Germany. . . . The Austrian "operation" has successfully demonstrated to the Germans that the keys of liberation are not in the hands of the West but in the hands of Moscow.

To the Russians there is of course a certain danger in advertising "neutralization" as a remedy for all ills. For if, on the one hand, certain French intellectuals are led to say hopefully, "If Germany and Austria are neutralized, why shouldn't France be, too?" Poles in London can also ask whether the Russians will agree to the "neutralization" of Poland and all the other countries of Eastern Europe.

The Washington correspondent of the *Monde* reports a growing realization in the United States not only that "neutralist" tendencies are becoming vocal both in Europe and in Asia, but also that "it will not be possible or even desirable to prevent these countries, which benefit from American aid, from trying to come to terms with the East, either for imperative commercial reasons or in the hope of escaping the nuclear cataclysm." As regards "imperative" commercial reasons, it is certainly true that if West Germany —or a united Germany—is inevitably interested in Eastern trade, the Russians have shown even more tangible signs of being not merely interested but actually in need of a growing volume of German industrial goods. For this, too, they may be willing to pay a political price.

The Russians are fully as anxious about Formosa as about Germany; and they are waiting for Chou En-lai's Bandung proposal for direct Chinese-American talks to be followed up. At a summit meeting it is probable that Bulganin will ask for China's admission to the U. N. as part of a settlement, or at least as the condition of Communist acceptance of some kind of modus vivendi at Formosa and in Korea. It is not certain, however, that this admission of China to the U. N.—to which everybody seems to be attaching less and less importance these days—necessarily holds a top place in the Russians' minds.

ANOTHER question raised in Paris is what is going to happen in Indo-China. Will the sharp Franco-American differences in South Vietnam be smoothed out and a joint policy be adopted by General Ely and General Collins, either with or without the "assistance" of Bao Dai? The Americans are suspicious about Bao Dai's ultimate objectives. Although popularly treated as a "night-club emperor," he is known to be a shrewd, and very slippery, politician, one who in the course of his strange career—serving the Japanese, cooperating with Ho Chi-minh, reluctantly accepting French patronage and then seeking American support against the French—has often put the interests of Vietnam first and may therefore try to come to terms with Ho Chi-minh, as he often did in the past. If Bao Dai were given sufficient authority in South Vietnam, it is by no means inconceivable that he might agree to a deal with Ho and facilitate the holding of those 1956 elections which the United States is accused of wanting for obvious reasons to postpone.

Still another question that has arisen in the past few days is what has really been the effect on American policy of the Bandung conference. It is thought here that America may have to adopt a much more "subtle" policy toward African and Asian peoples than it has followed in the past few years, and may have to come out again, as it did for some years after the last war, as an enemy of "colonialism." One of the biggest sources of pro-American feeling among the Moroccans and Tunisians was the American "anti-colonialism" of the Truman era. When America washed its hands of North Africa at the end of 1952, the French started a sharp "colonialist" offensive which resulted in the deportation of the "pro-American" Sultan of Morocco, the murder of Ferhat Hashed, the Tunisian trade-union leader, and the policy of repression exercised ever since in both countries—at least until a few days ago.

It was against this international background that the figures of Dulles, Macmillan, Pinay, and Adenauer moved about uneasily in Paris last week. What will come out of all the talks in the end? A mere consolidation of the present explosive status quo? Partial agreements which only relieve the tension till the next headache, or more sweeping agreements which will expand the present "atomic equilibrium" into an economic, ideological, and psychological equilibrium in the world? As long as the guns and bombs are silent, there is still hope. But are our leaders, who have been used to years and years of routine thinking, intelligent enough to change their ways? Despite all the old Marxist cliches on the inevitable collapse of capitalism uttered in Moscow on the eighty-fifth anniversary of Lenin's death, the Russians seem to be the first to have broken away from the crude methods of cold-war diplomacy.

Statement by Ollenhauer

[Erich Ollenhauer, chairman of the German Social Democratic Party—Adenauer's most powerful opposition—sent The Nation *the following resume of his attitude toward the coming four-power talks.]*

I believe that the conference should be held in Berlin in order to impress upon the participants the urgent need for a settlement. The paramount objectives should be the establishment of European security and the restoration of German political unity. In view of the responsibility of the four powers for the present division of Germany and for the regimes established there, I do not believe that either East or West Germany should be represented.

The restoration of German unity would be a great step toward removing the iron curtain and ending the cold war.

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BOOKS

Was There a Spy Network?

THE ATOM SPY HOAX. By William A. Reuben. Action Books. $3.75.

By Bernard M. Loomer

THIS book is bound to be controversial in its impact. It will probably be either misinterpreted and distorted or quietly ignored by various interested groups. But, in this reviewer's judgment, it should be read and discussed with all possible openness of mind. The subject is important, not only symbolically but in itself, and the treatment seems to be thorough, systematic, and competent.

Objectively viewed, this volume is a comprehensive and at points quite detailed analysis of the "atom-spy" cases and trials that have occurred in Canada, England, and the United States. Beginning with a revealing account of the celebrated Canadian trials of 1946, including that of Allen Nunn May, and concluding with a searching presentation of the Rosenberg-Sobell affair, Reuben's more or less chronological coverage includes all the major and apparently all the minor figures who were accused of being involved, directly or indirectly, with espionage in the interests of Russia.

Reuben's interest in these cases is not primarily legal or technical. He seeks to determine on the basis of factual and documented evidence, when "evidence" is interpreted according to the usual canons of courtroom procedure, the guilt of the people charged with, indicted for, or convicted of espionage, especially if the alleged espionage was centered on the "secret" of the atom bomb. In dealing with each of the major figures he traces the evolution of the case from its original official charge and accusation—particularly as this was highlighted by the headlines of the press—through the indictment to the evidence presented at the actual trial. A final evaluation is made of the accuracy of the charges in the light of the supporting evidence. Also, the possible causal connections between the cases are elaborately explored and critically tested. The reason this pattern of presentation is followed, it is clear, is that the public has been led to believe that the cases are causally related, that there was an atom-spy "network," that some espionage agents, after being caught, directly implicated others.

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But Reuben's analysis goes beyond empirical description and evaluation. The ethical and political nature of his concern is revealed in the preface:

> When the Rosenberg-Sobell trial ended, the prosecutor made a short statement declaring that the affair was "a necessary by-product of the atomic age." At the time . . . no one in the United States registered any challenge to this judgment. The purpose of this book is to reconsider the premises on which such a judgment once came to be completely accepted in the United States, and to try to ascertain whether everything that has happened in America in the first decade of the atomic era, as completely symbolized by such a proceeding as the Rosenberg-Sobell trial, is really a necessary by-product of our age, or whether, by artful manufacture, it has only been made to seem so.

In other words Reuben's thesis is that these atomic cases were manufactured consequences of the cold war and were used to support it, and were not themselves causes of the cold war. In short, his conclusion is that the whole atomic-spy business was a hoax. Or, to put it perhaps more fairly, Reuben wants to state this hypothesis at least in the form of a question. For example, he concludes his long dissection of the Canadian spy trials by saying:

> When only the direct evidence is considered, would it not seem that the Canadian case stemmed from the United States' decision of September 21, 1945, of being unwilling to share its experiences in producing the atom bomb with Russia? And that the Truman-Attlee-King decisions on the atom bomb did not result from the discovery of a Canadian "atom-spy network," but rather resulted in its fabrication? According, that is, not to the headlines, but to the evidence.

Space does not permit a review of the discussion of any one case. But some of Reuben's more specific conclusions can be brought together and stated briefly: apart from confessional evidence—in the cases of May, Fuchs, Gold, Slack, and Greenglass—no proof was offered that atomic espionage ever occurred; the confessions were never corroborated in any way. (Reuben questions the validity and trustworthiness of all these confessions. But this reviewer is left with the impression that the confessions of May and Fuchs particularly, and possibly of Greenglass, may still have to be accepted as true.) In terms of evidence, no causal relation between communism or the Communist Party and espionage was established. (Communists were convicted but not of espionage. Those convicted of espionage were not proved to be Communists.) In terms of evidence, no network of spies was shown to exist. (Reuben maintains, for example, that the evidence does not prove but in fact disproves the publicly held notion that Fuchs implicated Harry Gold.) In reporting evidence the American press was negligent in its duty; in its headlining of unsupported charges it misused its freedom.

ONE of Reuben's most valuable contributions is his lengthy treatment of the Canadian spy trials. He presents some startling findings: Of the twenty-six people originally cited and charged with espionage ten were sent to prison; the others were either never indicted or if indicted were acquitted. Of the ten sent to prison one woman was sentenced because she pleaded guilty to violating the Official Secrets Act in that during the late 1930's she discussed international affairs with Fred Rose, a Communist member of the Canadian Parliament; another woman was sentenced for admittedly associating with official Soviet representatives; two were convicted of handing over to the Russians, then our allies, publicly available information about R. D. X., an explosive; one, a Communist Party official, was convicted of forgery in connection with a passport for another person; another

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was convicted of passing on unclassified information to an admitted Communist who in turn knew Fred Rose and members of the Soviet embassy; one person attended a Marxist study group; Fred Rose received information about R. D. X., but it was not alleged that he gave the information to anyone; and Allen Nunn May confessed in England. Reuben's conception of the difference between those who went to prison and those who didn't is this: "Those who 'talked' were found guilty, entrapped by their own talking. Those who didn't give evidence against themselves were shown to be innocent."

One may agree or not with Reuben's political interpretation. Some may like it because it simplifies the whole problem. Others may find it too shocking or too strong or perhaps not sufficiently documented as it relates to specific instances. This reviewer inclines to the judgment that more credit should be given to the rampant hysteria and fear as explanations both of the character of these trials and of what may now look like manufactured plots. We—public, press, and government alike—were bereft of our good sense, a condition some of us now look back on with feelings of shame. In this regard the national climate seems to have improved. With respect to a judgment about the documentation of Reuben's thesis in individual cases, this reviewer is handicapped. Apart from some knowledge of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial, he has not read the official transcripts of these cases. Nor has he read other interpretations of the trials. Consequently he is unable to determine the extent, if any, to which Reuben's persistent and penetrating probing of the spy trials may have been influenced by his stated purpose.

But without denying or affirming Reuben's thesis, it can be maintained that his analysis of the spy trials, taken by itself, merits sober consideration. And on the basis of his concern with the Rosenberg-Sobell trial, this reviewer credits the charge that in several if not all of these cases too many important questions remain unanswered. At least a reasonable doubt in certain instances would appear to be warranted. The purpose of this review is to bring Mr. Reuben's book to the attention of thoughtful and sensitive members of the community in the belief that the cause of justice and our political well-being will be better served if his contentions are discussed and evaluated.

He Happened to Be President

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES AND HIS AMERICA. By Harry Barnard. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $6.

By C. Vann Woodward

IT WAS the fate of the nineteenth President of the United States, as his latest biographer says, to have been forgotten "even in his own lifetime." When President Hayes is remembered at all, it is usually in connection with the national election crisis of 1876 and the Compromise of 1877 that ended Reconstruction. Yet even in those stirring events he figured mainly as a bystander. Such fame as he earned was that of a compromiser—but a compromiser who won the lasting affection of neither of the reconciled adversaries.

In contending that Hayes deserved better of posterity and in seeking to do him justice, Mr. Barnard does not make the mistake previous biographers of the man have made, the error of overshooting the mark. He frankly regards Hayes as a man who happened to be President, and never as a figure of destiny or the indispensible man. He sets forth the sturdy Ohioan's commonplace virtues and plain ideas by the side of his unsensational shortcomings. The result is a welcome corrective of earlier biographiies, and withal a credible portrait.

There is no little to be learned about Hayes's America from this biography. A prosperous lawyer and business man, Hayes was slow to warm to the anti-slavery crusade. Once the war came, however, his zeal stirred him to a heroic pitch and made of the rather unlikely volunteer a fighting brigadier general of genuine merit. His distinguished war record opened the road to political rewards and took him to Congress. From there he stepped into the governor's office of Ohio, a position to which he was twice reelected and from which he went to the White House.

It is a curious fact that so many historical figures from the Middle West, the smiling Valley of Democracy, should have been portrayed by novelists, poets, and biographers against a predominantly melancholy background—the convention established by Dreiser, Sandburg, and Masters. Mr. Barnard, who has also given us a biography of John Peter Altgeld, pictures the halting progress of his present protagonist against a somber setting. Born after his father's death, Rutherford Hayes grew up in a family dominated by women and formed what appears to have been an unusual attachment to his lovely sister. This relationship is stressed in the analysis of Hayes's character and is probably responsible for the publisher's unfortunate description of the book as a "psychography." Although Mr. Barnard does give considerable attention to psychological influences, his study scarcely deserves such a frightening description. His contention that young Hayes was a "bundle of insecurity" appears justified by the evidence presented.

In dealing with the major political crises in which Hayes figured, and especially with the contested Presidential election, Mr. Barnard is cautious and balanced in his conclusions. He readily admits that neither Hayes nor Tilden, his Democratic opponent, had a clear title to the Presidency. He concedes that there was little to choose between the tactics employed by the two parties, though he is somewhat inclined to think the Republican pot a shade less black here and there than the Democratic kettle. And he is also disposed to clear Hayes personally of responsibility for devious traffickings by men very close to the President-elect. Such defense as he constructs, however, does not put strain upon the evidence.

C. VANN WOODWARD, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, is lecturing this year at Queen's College, Oxford. He is the author of "Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel," "Origins of the New South," and "The Strange Career of Jim Crow."

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"Great Lives in Brief"

CHARLES DARWIN, by Ruth Moore; *ALEXANDER DUMAS,* by Andre Maurois; *HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN,* by Rumer Godden; *HENRY FORD,* by Roger Burlinghame; *MAHATMA GANDHI,* by Vincent Sheean. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50 each.

By Keith Hutchison

THE launching of Knopf's new biographical series—"Great Lives In Brief"—calls for a bottle of vintage champagne. Each of the first five volumes admirably meets the publisher's objectives: they are authoritative, entertaining, and well-written; they provide the essential facts about their subjects succinctly but without any appearance of painful compression; their format and typography maintain the high standards of the house that issues them.

Perhaps the palm should be given to Ruth Moore whose "Man, Time, and Fossils" proved her rare touch in presenting scientific data to the layman. Her assignment on this occasion was a difficult one because Darwin's career, apart from his youthful odyssey in The Beagle, lacked external incident. His was essentially a life of the mind, and Miss Moore holds the attention with a wonderfully lucid account of his intellectual achievements and their revolutionary consequences. At the opposite pole is Darwin's contemporary, the ebullient Dumas tne elder. As Maurois demonstrates in a delightful if somewhat impressionistic sketch, the life of the great romancer was even more improbable than those of his most extravagant fictional creations.

The almost equally fantastic story of Hans Andersen is related by Rumer Godden, a novelist of note, with discerning charm. Andersen was truly an ugly duckling who after many struggles rose from abject poverty to world fame. Miss Godden is particularly successful in showing how in many of his tales he transmuted the incidents of his early life.

Two more contrasting figures than Ford, the master mechanic, and Gandhi, the preacher of nonresistance and apostle of the spinning-wheel, can hardly be imagined. Each has played a major role in the shaping of our times and it can perhaps be claimed that the destiny of India—and the world—depends on whether that country can absorb the genius of Ford without destroying the spirit of Gandhi. Roger Burlinghame writes of the inventor of the flivver with cool objectivity, making clear his great achievement in turning "the rich man's toy into the plain man's utility" but not overlooking the grief his "orneriness" brought to his associates, his workers, and himself. Vincent Sheean's Gandhi is a much more personal, emotional work. Stressing the saintly, mystical, and prophetic roles of the Mahatma, it does less than justice to the artistry of his political genius.

KEITH HUTCHISON is a contributing editor of The Nation.

Selected New Books

Belles-Lettres

HAWTHORNE. A Critical Study. By Hyatt H. Waggoner. Harvard. $4.75. A close analysis of the allegory and images of Hawthorne's work, paying special attention to the symbolism of colors, names, shapes, and flowers. It shows how thoroughly the smallest details of Hawthorne's fiction reflect a profound but inconclusive drama of morality.

THE CONFIDENCE-MAN. By Herman Melville. Edited by Elizabeth S. Foster. Hendricks House. $4. The introduction and notes to this handsome edition bring a neglected masterpiece to life by revealing the subtle irony that makes an apparently aimless narrative about a Mississippi steamer into a taut satirical allegory of the spirit.

SANTAL. By Ronald Firbank. Grove Press. $3. Fifty-six pages of deft Firbankian prose which tell of a Moslem boy's flight to a holy man in the mountains and create the precious, devout atmosphere of Oscar Wilde's fairy tales.

EAST-WEST PASSAGE. A Study in Literary Relationships. By Dorothy Brewster. Allen and Unwin. 21s. An excellent survey of the awareness of Russia which has weighed more or less heavily on the minds of English and American authors since Shakespeare's reference to the Muscovite ambassadors in "Love's Labor's Lost." It describes, among other things, the vital role played by obscure travelers and scholars in opening Russia to the West, and the powerful impact of Russian spiritual and critical ideas on the literature and theater of the last hundred years.

THOMAS MANN. By J. M. Lindsay. Macmillan. $3.90. After tracing certain obvious themes through Mann's books, this methodical but uninspiring study examines his gradual awakening to democracy and the view of humanity's spiritual development offered in the "Joseph" novels.

PETRUS BOREL. By Enid Starkie. New Directions. $5. The life of a forerunner of baudelaire who drifted from a gay bohemian youth in Paris into a bitter exile as an inefficient civil servant in Algiers. The few chapters of able criticism are practically incidental to the lively accounts of the wild parties, fads, poses, and public demonstrations of the early French decadents.

JACOB KORG

Fiction

AUNTIE MAME. By Patrick Dennis. Vanguard Press. $3.50. The life and times of Madcap Mame, a delightfully eccentric society female. Some very funny moments and acid satire more than compensate for the determined cuteness. Readers who enjoy fast and foamy narrative will have a grand time with this one.

THE MAGICIAN AND THE WIDOW. By Georges Simenon. Translated from the French by Helen Sebba and John Petrie. Doubleday. $3.95. Two short novels by the prolific M. Simenon, who combines minute psychological detail with clear, underwritten prose. Telling of an alcoholic musician and a violent ex-convict, he builds sympathy for his people even while probing them. There is only an illusion of depth, however; the characters tend to be gargoyles or mechanisms.

FLAMINGO FEATHER. By Laurens van der Post. William Morrow. $3.95. International intrigue in a vivid African setting. A melodramatic plot, fortunately, plays second fiddle in this stirring recreation of African landscape and tribal ways. Van der

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Post writes lushly but effectively of a continent he loves.

ONCE IN ALEPPO. By Donald R. Barton. Scribner's. $3.95. An incisive novel of tangled diplomacy in the Middle East. Although the material has been used often in recent years, Donald R. Barton is an unusually sensitive writer etching social as well as political conflict. The result is a perceptive if occasionally bitter book.

FACE VALUE. By Robert Standish. Doubleday. $3.50. Neat short stories of human rascality on several continents, told by a thoroughly professional craftsman. Standish knits his fiction rather too carefully; many readers will find themselves aware of the pattern rather than the substance.

DIPLOMATIC CONCLUSIONS. By Roger Peyrefitte. Translated from the French by Edward Hyams. Thames and Hudson. $3.50. Peyrefitte's portrait of the fall of France in World War II is devastating, although his brilliant cynicism and clever epigrams often seem gratuitous—like a ballet dancer in a crematorium. His wit often "weeps with laughter" despite its lightness of touch.

Theater

Robert Hatch

JEAN GENET is a forty-five-year-old Frenchman, a bastard, a homosexual, and a confirmed thief who has spent a good part of his life in prison. Between 1942 and 1948 he wrote extensively—novels, journals, and plays. This incongruous literacy brought him the attention of Sartre, among other critics, and in the past few years his name has been spreading in Europe and America. One of his plays, "The Maids," is now being well performed at the Tempo Playhouse on St. Marks Place.

There are two maids in the play, Claire and Solange; Madame also appears, but briefly. Monsieur, who has been sent to prison by the false and anonymous accusations of the maids, works unseen on the proceedings. The action is largely a ritualistic masquerade, in which Claire and Solange take turns at playing Madame and each other. It is a game of murder symbolizing sex—masochistic, compulsive, never fulfilled. When Madame appears, the maids try to poison her—or at least they tell each other that that is what they are trying to do. When she leaves, the game starts again. This time the "preliminaries" are omitted and they get nearer to a climax, Solange-as-Claire leading Claire-as-Madame offstage to murder. But Claire returns and commits suicide. It will look like murder and Solange will achieve a spurious fulfilment from a meaningless killing she did not commit.

On the surface "The Maids" is slightly disgusting, an unclean fever. Beneath the surface, I suspect, it is a vision of the absolute based on ignorance. Sartre says in his introduction to the published text that Genet was attracted to the theater by "the element of fake, of sham, of artificiality"; that he turned dramatist because "the falsehood of the

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES

Editor-in-Chief KENNETH M. SETTON, *Columbia University*

VOLUME I - THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS

Editor: Marshall W. Baldwin, New York University

Contributors: Sidney Painter, Benjamin Wheeler, Hilmar Krueger, Robert S. Lopez, Steven Runciman, H. A. R. Gibb, Bernard Lewis, Claude Cahen, Peter Charanis, Frederic Duncalf, James Lea Cate, Harold S. Fink, Robert L. Nicholson, Virginia G. Berry. Cartographer: Harry W. Hazard.

After eight years of planning and research, the first of five volumes is now ready for publication. Much credit must be given to the late Professor John L. LaMonte who gave the project its vast momentum. The book contains 694 pages, 19 chapters, 3 illustrations, 14 maps in 2 colors and a complete gazetteer. It has been printed in monotype in Germany and bound in raw linen there. The size is 7 x 10 inches. Ready May 16, 1955. Price, $12.00.

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stage is the most manifest and fascinating of all." It is the poorest possible reason for turning to the stage, and I cannot understand why Sartre is seemingly so impressed by Genet's involvement in the appearance-reality dilemma. He wished, Sartre tells us, that his female characters should be played by adolescent boys, not primarily because he has a taste for boys, but because travesty would add one more level of falsehood to this process of distilling the essence out of the event. An actor pretends to be a maid who pretends to be her mistress who pretends to revile her maid who pretends to be herself. Truth thus crumbles at whatever point we grasp it, and the only reliable fact is the lie. This variety of intellectual nihilism very probably exerts a strong pull on a man who sees himself a multiple outcast. It is also a playing at epistemology by an ambitious mind that is unschooled in metaphysics and does not know it is breaking a way down a well-traveled path. The theater is a sham only to those who are so naive that they do not presuppose its conventions, and educated minds are not willingly seduced by paradox.

In the Tempo production, the maids and Madame are not played by boys but by three talented and well-directed actresses: Claire by Julie Bovasso, Solange by Joyce Henry, and Madame by Fran Malis. To offset this compromising reality, the scene is set so that the audience can see backstage, and the stage manager appears now and then, script in hand, to exchange glances with the players and to signal light changes and the ringing of telephone and door bells.

The only fault I found in the production is that you know the instant the curtain opens that a masquerade is in progress; I believe Genet means us to be fooled, at least for the first few speeches. The lies, I think, are supposed to be stripped off one by one, reducing us to a state of nirvana, or vertigo, when we finally realize that the truth will always be the next lie but one.

IS "The Maids" worth doing? I think so. People read Genet and read a lot into him. It is interesting, in the first place, to see how his play will play. Technically, it plays rather well, but it trips its author up. Confusing illusion with falsity, Genet did not foresee that an actor is palpably an identity, however many levels of masquerade he is made to wear. Beneath the quaking ground of Claire-become-Solange-become-Madame are the characters and talents of the three actresses. They cannot prevent themselves from developing independent images on the stage, and the inescapable rationality of the theater forces order on Genet's anarchy of prevarication. If boys were playing the girls, the ultimate effect would be no different: the observer *will* make sense of what he sees, however hard a perverse illusionist tries to bewilder him. Therefore we come out of the theater, decently asking what Genet means and he has lost the round, for what he means is that we should despair and stop asking.

"The Maids" is a long one-act play (here presented with one intermission), and Tempo offers as a curtain-raiser "The 13th of March," selections from "The First Reader" by Gertrude Stein. This seems to be some rather contrived "automatic" writing in which a group of young actors play at being children on a rainy day in a garret. They go in strongly for murder, not scaring themselves as healthy children should, and I suppose Miss Stein wants us to be scared by the devil-children within us. It was all a little too cute to be edifying, though again I admired the performance. The players cannot help seeming as though they were mentally retarded, but they make no apologies and are as little embarrassing as possible.

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BACH'S Cantatas No. 51 "Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen" and No. 209 "Non sa che sia dolore" are sung on Vanguard BG-546 by the soprano Teresa Stich-Randall with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Heiller. Unlike Schwarzkopf's vocal tour de force on Columbia, and like Danco's recent London performance, Stich-Randall's of No. 51 is a real performance of the music, in which the voice, though not quite as lovely as Danco's, is crystal-clear and pure and is employed with tensions that give the phrasing more compelling life than Danco's. But the music, unfortunately, is dull. And No. 209 is only slightly less so.

The cohesive pacing and tension of Toscanini's performances of Beethoven's several "Leonore" and "Fidelio" overtures—which are the performances I have heard most—are lacking in the performances on London LD-9185/6 in which Krauss conducts the Vienna Philharmonic. Extremely reverberant reproduction.

London LL-1154 offers a few excerpts from Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust" — Faust's *Sans regrets j'ai quitte les riantes campagnes* and *Nature immense,* Marguerite's *Aut-*

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refois un roi de Thule and *D'amour l'ardente flamme,* and their love-duet—sung by Raoul Jobin and Irma Kolassi with the London Symphony under Fistoulari. Jobin's tenor is agreeable in quiet passages that employ its lower range, but tightens and hardens in loud high passages; Kolassi's mezzo-soprano is agreeable at all times and used with excellent musical and expressive effect. The reverse side could have something more suitable than excerpts from Massenet's "Werther."

From its complete recording of Wagner's "Die Meistersinger"—by far the best of the three available versions—London has issued on LD-9078 the two Sachs monologues sung by Schoeffler, and on 9079 the Sachs-Eva duet from Act 2 and the Sachs-Eva-Walther trio in Act 3 that begins with one of the most exquisite passages in all Wagner, sung by Schoeffler, Gueden, and Treptow. Knappertsbusch conducts the Vienna Philharmonic.

London LD-9169 has Siepi singing *Il lacerato spirito* from Verdi's "Simon Boccanegra" and arias from Meyerbeer's "The Huguenots" and "Robert the Devil," Halevy's "La Juive," and Gomes's "Salvator Rosa." Good singing that occasionally is rough-textured and quavering. Erede conducts the St. Cecilia Academy Orchestra.

Vanguard 460 offers Chabrier's one-act operetta "Une Education manque," which has a few pretty tunes, but in which one hears the distinctive Chabrier mind and matured skill operating only in the final duet. A good performance by Christine Castelli and Caudine Collart, sopranos, Xavier Depraz, bass, with the Paris Symphony under Charles Bruck.

In her notes for the performance of the Sitwell-Walton "Facade" on London LL-1133 Edith Sitwell writes that her poems are abstract—that is, patterns in sound, in which she experiments with "rhymes, assonances, and dissonances, placed outwardly and inwardly (at different places in the line) and in most elaborate patterns," with "equivalent syllables," and with other things of the sort. The effect of these devices in the poems recited by their author and Peter Pears to the Walton music is delightful; and my only complaint is with the recording that allows the poems to blanket the delightful music performed by a small instrumental group under Collins. In the old Columbia version in which Dame Edith recites all the poems herself a little less deliberately and sonorously, the group conducted by Prausnitz is closer to the microphone and more clearly audible.

I have only now heard Janos Starker's performances of Beethoven's cello sonatas with Abba Bogin—Opp. 5 No. 2 and 69 on Period 560, Opp. 5 No. 1 and 102 Nos. 1 and 2 on 561. They offer magnificent playing of the cello: Starker's playing reminds one of Frank Miller's with its elegance and distinction of style, and with its tone, which has a dark sumptuousness as against the bright, lustrous warmth of Leonard Rose's. And they offer very fine playing of the music by Starker, but with playing of the piano parts by Bogin that doesn't match Starker's in power and tension.

MGM E-3154 offers Masselo's excellent performances of piano pieces by Satie which, to me, reveal a gift for extremely funny titles and comments but not for the music to go with them.

Cornell University Records has issued on an LP record a new edition of the "American Bird Songs—Volume One" formerly on several 78's. Some of the old songs are omitted; some new ones are added; all are beautifully reproduced.

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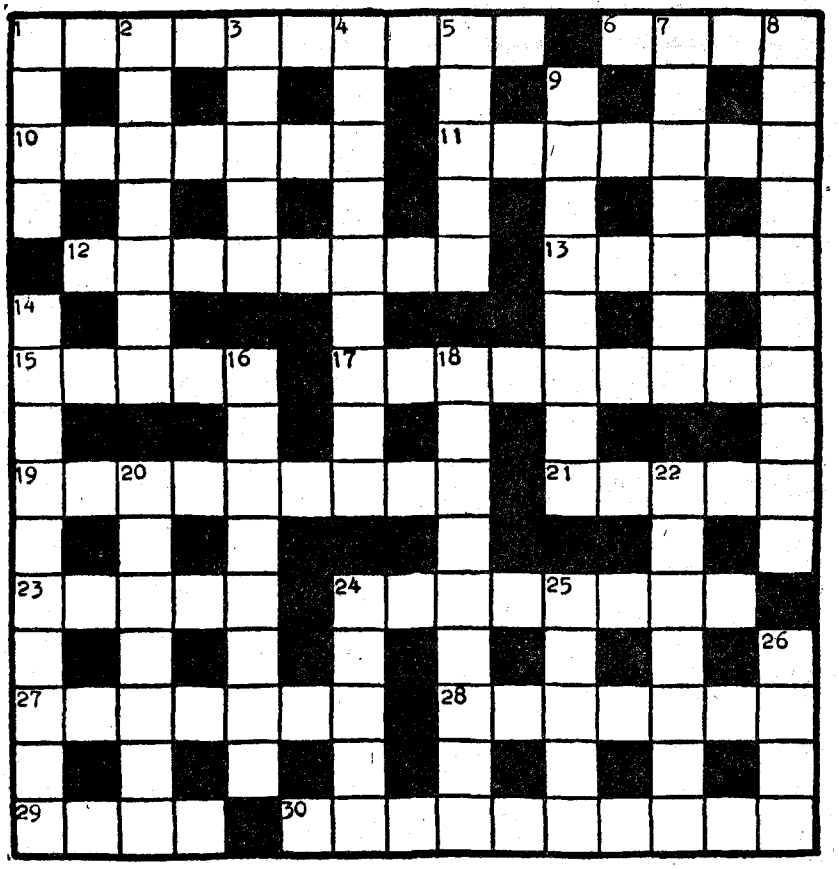

ACROSS

1 and 11 Some people think he looks more ovine than canine. (10,7)

10 and 6 The wrong sort of grass cutter to throw on the floor, perhaps. (7,4)

11 Se 1 across.

12 Shot a cop in the service? Mine isn't safe with it. (8)

13 In Zeno's school. (5)

15 Leaves when things are called. (5)

17 A religious leader and a number of Romans headed the revolt of Germany. (9)

19 One can see this old coach only with effort. (9)

21 Stiff back? (5)

23 and 24 Evidently there's plenty to listen to, without its being necessarily dangerous! (13)

27 Rhyme in Old Engish. (7)

28 It's not evil that's uncontrolled. (7)

29 Check 26 out of it. (4)

30 Ten priests, acting with 19. (10)

DOWN

1 and 25 They get publicly slapped now, but people with long hair may pick them more carefully. (4, 5)

2 Taking a chance on Art? (7)

3 and 16 Where to find a sample of 1 and 25 down, or 1 and 11 across? (2,3,8)

4 A bad golfer can make this birdie, however! (9)

5 Dominant. (2,3)

7 The same dress? (7)

8 Deadly sin? Then cry for it! (10)

9 Portends before the wisemen. (8)

14 The worst pride possible, in the backyard? (10)

16 See 3 down.

18 The voters of New York didn't, last time. (9)

20 Runs to the British, with the boys about to raise the color. (7)

22 Sounds like an unknown river at the far end. (7)

24 Erase after a girl's name. (5)

25 See 1 down.

26 Don't disturb 29, or else do! (4)

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